HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. I AM FOR JUSTICE, IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, AND ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LIVING GOD."

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

WILLIAM PINKNEY'S
Opinion of Slave-Holding.--Doctrines of 1789.

Sir, iniquitous, and most dishonorable to Maryland, is that dreary system of partial bondage, which her laws have hitherto supported with a sollicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced.

"Founded in a disgraceful traffic, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid, from motives of interest, but which even she would have disdained to encourage, had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandize, *its continuance is as shameful as its origin.*

Eternal infamy await the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Afric of her sons, and freight them hither by thousands, to poison the fair Eden of Liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage! *Nor is it more to the credit of our ancestors,* that they did not command these savage spoilers to bear their hateful cargo to another shore, where the shrine of freedom knew no votaries, and every purchaser would at once be both a master and a slave.

In the dawn of time, when the rough feelings of barbarism had not experienced the softening touches of refinement, such an unprincipled prostration of the inherent rights of human nature would have needed the gloss of an apology; but to the everlasting reproach of Maryland be it said, that when her citizens rivalled the nation from whence they emigrated, in the knowledge of moral principles, and an enthusiasm in the cause of general freedom, they stooped to become the purchasers of their fellow-creatures, and to introduce an hereditary bondage in the bosom of their country, which should widen with every successive generation.

For my own part, I would willingly draw the veil of oblivion over this disgusting scene of iniquity, but that the present abject state of those who are descended from these kidnapped sufferers, perpetually brings it forward to the memory.

But wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased? Are not we EQUALLY *guilty*? (*a*) *They* strewed around the seeds of slavery; *we* cherish and [illegible] the growth. *They* introduced the system; *we* enlarge, invigorate, and confirm it. Yes, let it be handed down to posterity, that the people of Maryland, who could fly to arms with the promptitude of Roman citizens, when the hand of oppression was lifted up against themselves; who could behold their country desolated and their citizens slaughtered; who could brave with unshaken firmness every calamity of war before they would submit to the smallest infringement of their rights—that this very people could yet see thousands of their fellow-creatures, within the limits of their territory, bending beneath an unnatural yoke; and, instead of being assiduous to destroy their shackles, anxious to immortalize their duration, so that a nation of slaves might forever exist in a country where freedom is its boast.

Sir, it is really matter of astonishment to me, that the people of Maryland do not blush at the very name of Freedom. I admire that modesty does not keep them silent in her cause. That they who have, by the deliberate acts of their legislature, treated her most obvious dictates with contempt; who have exhibited for a long series of years, a spectacle of slavery which they still are solicitous to perpetuate; who, not content with exposing to the world for near a century, a speaking picture of abominable oppression, are still ingenious to prevent the hand of generosity from robbing it of half its horrors; that *they* should step forward as the zealous partizans of freedom, cannot but astonish a person who is not casuist enough to reconcile antipathies.

For shame, Sir! let us throw off the mask, 'tis a cobweb one at best, and the world will see through it. It will not do thus to talk like philosophers, and act like *unrelenting tyrants;* to be perpetually sermonizing it with liberty for our text, and actual oppression for our commentary.

But, Sir, is it impossible that this body should feel for the reputation of Maryland? Is national honor unworthy of consideration? Is the censure of an enlightened universe insufficient to alarm us? It may proceed from the ardor of youth perhaps, but the character of my country among the nations of the world is as dear to me as that country itself. What a motley appearance must Maryland at this moment make in the eyes of those who view her with deliberation! Is she not at once the fair temple of freedom and the abominable nursery of slaves; the school for patriots, and the foster-mother of *petty despots;* the assertor of human rights, and the patron of wanton oppression? (*b*) Here have emigrants from a land of tyranny found an asylum from persecution, and here also have those who came as rightfully free as the winds of heaven, found an eternal grave for the liberties of themselves and their posterity!

BETTER TEMPORIZE THAN DO NOTHING.

In the name of God, should we not attempt to wipe away this stigma, as far as the impressions of the times will allow? If we dare not strain legislative authority so as to root up the evil at once, let us do all we dare, and lop the exuberance of its branches. I would sooner temporize than do nothing. At least we should show our wishes by it.

But lest character should have no more than its usual weight with us, let us examine into the *policy* of thus perpetuating slavery among us, and also consider this regulation in particular, with the objections applicable to each. That the result will be favorable to us I have no doubt.

That the dangerous consequences (*c*) of this system of bondage have not as yet been felt, does not prove they never will be. At least the experiment has not been sufficiently made to preclude speculation and conjecture. To me, Sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear, than that it will one day destroy that reverence for liberty which is the vital principle of a republic.

EFFECTS UPON THE SLAVE-HOLDER.

While a majority of your citizens are accustomed to rule with the authority of despots, within particular limits; while your youth are reared in the habits of thinking that the great rights of human nature are not so sacred but they may with innocence be trampled on, can it be expected that the public mind should glow with that generous ardor in the cause of freedom, which can alone save a government like ours from the lurking dæmon of usurpation? Do you not dread the contamination of principle? Have you no alarms for the continuance of that spirit which once conducted us to victory and independence, when the talons of power were unclasped for our destruction? Have you no apprehensions left, that when the votaries of freedom sacrifice also at the gloomy altars of slavery, they will at length become apostates from the former? For my own part, I have no hope that the stream of general liberty will flow forever, unpolluted, through the foul mire of partial bondage, or that they who have been habituated to lord it over others, will not in time be base enough to let others lord it over them. If they resist, it will be the struggle of *pride* and *selfishness*, not of *principle*.

There is no maxim in politics more evidently just, than that laws should be relative to the principle of government. But is the encouragement of civil slavery, by legislative acts, correspondent with the principle of a democracy? Call that principle what you will, the love of *equality*, as defined by some; of *liberty*, as understood by others, such conduct is manifestly in violation of it.

To leave the principle of a government to its own operation, without attempting either to favor or undermine it, is often dangerous; but to make such direct attacks upon it by striking at the very root, is the per[illegible] policy. Hear what has been said on this point, by a great, a very great instructor that ever informed a statesman.

"In despotic countries," says Montesquieu, "where they are already in a state of *political* slavery, *civil* slavery is more tolerable than in other governments. Every one ought there to be contentented with necessaries and with life. Hence the condition of a slave is hardly more burthensome than that of a subject. But in a monarchial government, where it is of the utmost consequence that human nature should not be debased or dispirited; there ought to be no slavery. In *democracies*, where they are all upon an equality, and in aristocracies, where the laws ought to endeavor to make them so, as far as the nature of the government will permit, slavery is contrary to the spirit of the constitution; it only contributes to give a power and luxury to the citizens which they ought not to possess."

Such must have been the idea in England, when the general voice of the nation demanded the repeal of the statute of Edward VI. two years after its passage, by which their rogues and vagabonds were to be enslaved for their punishment. It could not have been compassion for the culprits that excited this aversion to the law, for they deserved none. But the spirit of the people could not brook the idea of bondage, even as a penalty judicially inflicted. They dreaded its consequences; they abhorred the example: in a word, they reverenced public liberty, and hence detested every species of slavery.

DESTROYS PROSPERITY.

Sir, the thing is impolitic in another respect. Never will your country be productive; never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend on reluctant bondsmen for their progress.

"Even the earth itself," (says the same celebrated author) "which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave." This sentiment is not more figuratively beautiful than substantially just.

Survey the countries, Sir, where the hand of freedom conducts the ploughshare, and compare their produce with yours. Your granaries in this view appear like the storehouses of emmets, though not supplied with equal industry. To trace the cause of this disparity between the fruits of a freeman's voluntary labors, animated by the hope of profit, and the slow-paced efforts of a slave, who acts from compulsion only; who has no incitement to exertion but fear; no prospect of remuneration to encourage, would be insulting the understanding. The cause and the effect are too obvious to escape observation.

Hence, Mr. Speaker, instead of throwing obstacles and discouragements in the way of manumissions, prudence and policy dictate that no opportunity should be lost of multiplying them, with the consent of the owner.

But objections have hitherto been made, and I suppose will be reiterated now, against the doctrine I am contending for. I will consider them.

OBJECTIONS.--FREED-MEN NOT TOOLS OF USURPATION.

It has been said "that freed-men are the convenient tools of usurpation;" and I have heard allusions made to history for the confirmation of this opinion. Let, however, the records of ancient and modern events be scrutinized, and I will venture my belief, that no instance can be found to give sanction to any such idea.

In Rome it was clearly otherwise. We have the evidence of Tiberius Gracchus, confirmed by Cicero, and approved by Montesquieu, that the incorporation of the freedmen into the city tribes, re-animated the drooping spirit of democracy in that republic, and checked the career of Patrician influence.

So far, therefore, were properly-made emancipations from contributing to the downfall of Rome, that they clearly served to procrastinate her existence, by restoring that equipoise in the constitution which an ambitious aristocracy were perpetually laboring to destroy.

SLAVES INSTRUMENTS OF USURPATION.

How much more rational, Mr. Speaker, would it be to argue that slaves are the fit machines by which an usurper might effect his purposes! and there is, therefore, nothing which a free government ought more to dread than a diffusive private bondage within its territory.

A promise of manumission might rouse every bondsman to arms, under the conduct of an aspiring leader; and invited by the fascinating prospect of freedom, they might raise such a storm in Maryland as it would be difficult to appease. Survey the conduct of the slaves who fought against Hannibal in the second Punic war. Relying on the assurances of the Senate, who had embodied them with the Roman legions, that conquest should give them liberty, not a man disgraced himself by flight; but though new, perhaps to the field of battle, they contended with the resolution of veterans. With the same promptitude and intrepidity would they have turned their arms against the Senate themselves, if the same assurances had been given them by enterprizing citizens who sought their destruction from motives of ambition or revenge. The love of liberty is inherent in human nature. To stifle or annihilate it, though not impossible, is yet difficult to be accomplished. Easy to be wrought upon, as well as powerful and active in its exertions, wherever it is not gratified there is danger. Gratify it, and you ensure your safety. Thus did Sylla think, who, before he abdicated the dictatorship, gave freedom to ten thousand slaves, and lands to a number of legions. By these his preceding enormities, to live unmolested as a private citizen in the bosom of that very country where he had acted the most hateful deeds of cruelty and usurpation.—For, by manumitting these slaves, the usurper secured their fidelity and attachment for ever, and disposed them to support and revenge his cause at every possible hazard.—Rome knew this, and therefore Sylla was secure in his retirement.

This example shows that slaves are the proper, natural implements of usurpation, and therefore a serious and alarming evil in every free community. With much to hope for by a change, and nothing to lose, they have no fears of consequences. Despoiled of their rights by the acts of government and its citizens, they have no checks of pity or of conscience, but are stimulated by the desire of revenge, to spread wide the horrors of desolation, and to subvert the foundations of that liberty of which they have never participated, and which they have only been permitted to envy in others.

But where slaves are manumitted by government, or in consequence of its provisions, the same motives which have attached them to tyrants, when the act of emancipation has flowed from them, would then attach them to government. They are then no longer the creatures of despotism. They are bound by gratitude, as well as by interest, to seek the welfare of that country from which they have derived the restoration of their plundered rights, and with whose prosperity their own is inseparably involved. An apostacy from these principles, which form the good citizen, would, under such circumstances, be next to impossible. When we see freed-men scrupulously faithful to a lawless, abandoned villain, from whom they have received their liberty, can we suppose that they will reward the like bounty of a free government with the turbulence of faction, or the seditious plots of treason? He who best knows the value of a blessing, is generally the most assiduous in its preservation; and no man is so competent to judge of that value as he from whom the blessing has been detained. Hence the man that has felt the yoke of bondage must forever prove the assertor of freedom, if he is fairly admitted to the equal enjoyment of its benefits.

MONTESQUIEU'S OPINION.

To show, Sir, that my idea of the danger arising from the number of slaves in a free government is no novelty in politics, permit me once more to read a passage from Montesquieu.

"The multitude of slaves is no grievance in a despotic state, where the *political* slavely of the whole body takes away the sense of *civil* slavery. But in *moderate* states it is a point of the highest importance that there should not be a great number of slaves. The *political* liberty of these states adds to the value of *civil* liberty, and he who is deprived of the latter is also deprived of the former. He sees the happiness of a society of which he is not so much as a member; he sees the security of others fenced by laws, himself without any protection. He sees his master has a soul that can enlarge itself, while his own is constrained to submit to a continual depression. Nothing more assimilates a man to a beast than living among freemen, himself a slave. Such people as these are the natural enemies of society, and their numbers must be dangerous."

Not gradual emancipations, therefore, but the extension of civil slavery, ought to alarm us; and in truth we are the only nation upon earth that ever considered the first as a ground of apprehension, or the last as a political desideratum.

In England, while bondage existed among that enlightened people, enfranchisements were always encouraged by Parliament, and those who were entrusted with the administration of justice; and throughout all Europe indeed, after the introduction of Christianity, the gloom of civil slavery gradually receded, as their horizon was enlightened by the dawn of political liberty. Even in India, where climate and the nature of the country have of necessity established a political despotism, their slaves are manumitted without difficulty. No legislative restrictions to observe! No tyrannic clogs to struggle with! These were reserved for that unhallowed æra when the rulers, in a republic produced by the perfection of human reason, should forget the principles of their constitution, of that religion they profess, of the eternal laws of nature, nay, the suggestions of common prudence. When Eastern despots surpass us in humanity, when India affords an evidence of justice which Maryland hesitates to exhibit, (*d*) who does not lament the corruption of that generous spirit whose exertions so lately attracted the attention of an admiring universe!

COLOR NO JUSTIFICATION OF OPPRESSION.

But it has also been said (and who knows but the same opinion may still have its advocates!) "that nature has black-balled these wretches out of society." (*e*)

Gracious God! can it be supposed that thy almighty Providence intended to proscribe these victims of fraud and power from the pale of society, because thou hast denied them the delicacy of an European complexion! Is this color the mark of divine vengeance, or is it only the flimsy pretext upon which we attempt to justify our treatment of them? Arrogant and presumptuous is it thus to make the dispensations of Providence subservient to the purposes of iniquity, and every slight diversity in the works of nature the apology for oppression. Thus acts the intemperate bigot in religion. He persecutes every dissenter from his creed in the name of God, and even rears the horrid fabric of an inquisition upon heavenly foundations.

I like not these holy arguments. They [illegible] Contemplate deity as the tyrant, as the [illegible] medium of philosophy, and then to know that these shackled wretches are men as well as we are, sprung from the same common parent, and endued with equal faculties of mind and body, is to know enough to make us disdain to turn casuists on their complexions, to the destruction of their rights. The beauty of a complexion is mere matter of taste and varies in different countries, nay, even in the same; and shall we dare to set up this vague, indeterminate standard as the criterion by which shall be decided on what complexion the rights of human nature are conferred, and to what they are denied by the great ordinances of the Deity? As if the Ruler of the universe had made the darkness of a skin, the flatness of a nose, or the wideness of a mouth, which are only deformities or beauties, as the undulating tribunal of taste shall determine, the indicia of his wrath.

NEGROES NOT AN INFERIOR RACE.

Sir, it is pitiable to reflect on the mistaken light in which this unfortunate generation are viewed by the people in general. Hardly do they deign to rank them in the order of beings above the mere animal that grazes the field of its owner. That an humble, dusky, unlettered wretch that drags the chain of bondage through the weary round of life, with no other privilege but that of existing for another's benefit, should have been intended by heaven for their equal, they will not believe. But let me appeal to the intelligent mind, and ask in what respect are they our inferiors? Though they have never been taught to tread the paths of science, or embellish human life by literary acquirements; though they cannot soar into the regions of taste and sentiment, or explore the scenes of philosophical research, is it to be inferred that they want the power, if the yoke of slavery did not check each aspiring effort, and clog the springs of action? Let the kind hand of an assiduous care mature their powers, let the genius of freedom excite to manly thought and liberal investigation, we should not then be found to monopolize the vigor of fancy, the delicacy of taste, or the solidity of scientific endowments. Born with hearts as susceptible of virtuous impressions as our own, and with minds as capable of benefiting by improvement, they are in all respects our equals by nature; and he who thinks otherwise has never reflected, that talents, however great, may perish unnoticed and unknown, unless auspicious circumstances conspire to draw them forth, and animate their exertions in the round of knowledge. As well might you expect to see the bubbling fountain gush forth from the burning sands of Arabia, as that the inspiration of genius or the enthusiastic glow of sentiment should rouse the mind which has yielded its elasticity to habitual subjection. Thus the ignorance and the vices of these wretches are solely the result of situation, and therefore no evidence of their inferiority. Like the flower whose culture has been neglected, and perishes amidst permitted weeds are it opens its blossoms to the spring, they only prove the imbecility of human nature unassisted and oppressed. Well has Cowper said,

"'Tis liberty alone which gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume
And we are weeds without it."

MANUMITTED SLAVES WILL NOT BE NUISANCES.

Again, it has been urged, "that manumitted slaves will be, as in many instances they have been, nuisances in the community." I know not of instances of this kind in number sufficient to justify a general interference to the prejudice of the blacks: but even if they exist, the argument has no weight, for it is founded on what is not *peculiar* to those people, but from an imperfect administration of criminal justice, is equally applicable to their whiter neighbors.—Will any one pretend that they alone merit this imputation? Extend it to your white citizens in the same proportion, and you will not censure uncharitably. I would not give a straw to choose between them. That many of them will be idle, and roguishly inclined, is certain, but they will be kept in countenance. That the majority will be honest and industrious is as probably as the contrary. I would trust them as soon as the great body of your people; in general, sooner; because the plain, simple method of life to which they have been accustomed, supersedes the necessity of much, and the little they want, their habits of labour will render it easy to supply; and because the terror of the law operates stronger upon their minds than on the minds of those who have been long hackneyed in the world. They have also the same inducement to industry with others, and I see no reason for supposing they will be lazier.

PARTICULAR OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Thus have I anticipated and answered such objections as have come to my knowledge, against manumission in general. A variety have also been started to this particular mode. These too shall be examined.

As to such as respect superannuated slaves, and the injury to creditors, the bill (*f*) may contain the remedy. Let the bequest be considered in the nature of a *specific legacy*, to depend on the fact of assets; and let all manumissions of slaves above fifty years old, be declared void, and the executors bound to indemnify the county.

But another objection occurs, which may deserve a more particular reply, because against that there can be no adequate provision. "Testators may impoverish their families by inconsiderate manumission in their last sickness. They may be frightened by preachers, refined moralists, and others, when the mind is easily alarmed and incapable of its usual resistance." I answer, Scruples of conscience can be effected care not through what medium, cannot be accepted. Should he reduce his family to beggary by it, I should not be the one to repine at the deed. I should glory in the cause of their distress, while I wished them a more honest patrimony. (*g*) Sir, the children have no claim to the property of the parent, except as the law casts it on them; and, therefore, you violate no rule of moral justice in allowing him to transfer it in his lifetime. You permit their claim to be barred by the will of the ancestor in every instance but this; an instance which deserves more to be within the rule than any other that can be mentioned, because the property, being founded in iniquity, cannot be too easily defeated. But I much fear that this common apprehension will not be verified in practice. Families will take care that these preachers shall have as little access as possible to the person from whom they have expectations. They will not permit him, if they can avoid it to close his life with the noblest act of justice that can dignify the man or characterize the Christian. The importunate zealot will have less employment than is expected; less than I wish him.

We have also been told "that manumissions by last will may produce the untimely death of the maker. Slaves, knowing that they are provided for in the will, may destroy their master to prevent a revocation, and hasten a completion of the bequest."—'Tis strange to tell, but I have known this objection relied on; and yet it is plain that it applies with equal force to every devise whatsoever, let the subject be what it may, or the devisee as white as the snows of heaven. Who is there can discriminate? I wish to hear a distinction attempted. I would draw one myself if I was able.

Once more, it has been alleged, "that such humane provisions in favor of slaves will diminish their value, by rendering them turbulent, disobedient, and unruly." Far different was the idea of a man whose name and whose opinions cannot be too often repeated: a man whose greatness of soul, and profound discernment, beaming in every page of his works, have deservedly acquired him the admiration of his cotemporaries and posterity. I mean Montesquieu. Let those who hold this opinion read the *Spirit of Laws*, with their understandings open to conviction, and if they still retain this sentiment, I shall despair of producing their conversion. And yet, Sir, I cannot help remarking, that greatness and humanity are the parents of conciliation; but stubbornness and obstinacy are the effects of causeless barbarity.—The more mild and equitable our laws upon this subject, the easier the situation of our slaves. And can it be believed, that to better their situation will make them more discontented with it? Is it probable that to abolish the sad consequence of their bondage, will give additional weight to their fetters? Is the spirit of acquiescence known only in the gloomy regions of despair, or is it rather to be found where the

cheerful rays of hope diffuse their soothing influence? Look back for examples to the republics of Athens and of Sparta. Never did the sedition of her slaves disturb the tranquility of the former; because the lenity, the justice of her regulations with respect to them, precluded the possibility of a murmur. But the slaves of Sparta made that republic a perpetual scene of commotion, because in considering them as *slaves*, the republic forgot that they were *men*.(b) In addition to these observations, it may be remarked, that the law in question has not always existed in this State; and who is it will contend that our slaves are more tractable now than 'before its passage? In Pennsylvania, where they have gone to a prodigious extent towards the total abolition of slavery, have they felt those evils at which gentlemen affect to be so alarmed?

I have heard of no objections, except those I have already noticed, against the report upon the table, and I can foresee no more. If there are any not yet stated, I request the enemies to this measure to disclose them now. I offer myself ready to answer them, or to yield to be a proselyte to their opinion if I cannot.

How then, Sir, let the subject rest with the House, upon its obvious merits. What will be their determination, I know not.—Where it ought to be, I have, at present, no doubt. You are not called upon, at this time, to accord the emancipation of your slaves. For such a measure I am no advocate, however proper it might be upon principle, or if the temper of the people would allow it. For there are times in which the best laws cannot with propriety be enacted.(c)

Thus stands the Question at present. A former legislature has created a barrier to the course of voluntary liberation. They have forbid a manumission by last will and testament, or in any manner during the last sickness of the owner: a time when the heart is most powerfully disposed to be generous and just. They have destroyed almost the only opportunity these wretches can have of regaining the station to which God and nature have given them a title. They have thrown up an insuperable mound against the gentle current of humanity, to the additional injury of those whom they had already injured beyond the reach of justification. All this they have done without one rational inducement; without even policy to plead in its extenuation. Will you, then, whose councils the breath of freedom first heretofore inspired; whose citizens have been led by Providence to conquest so glorious as unexpected, in the sacred cause of human nature; whose government is founded on the never-conquering basis of equal rights; will you, I say, behold this wanton abuse of legislative authority; this shameful disregard of every moral and religious obligation; this flagrant act of wanton and unprovoked cruelty, and not attempt redress, when redress is so easy to be effected?

Often, Mr. Speaker, has the public treasure relieved the wants of suffering merit, when the bounty of government was hardly reconcilable with justice; but you have now submitted to your consideration a case where the most feeble attempts are miserably inadequate to discharge. Yours, too, will be the gratitude of millions when this day's vote may give to breathe the air of freedom; yours the flattering approbation of the friends of mankind; and yours the pleasing consciousness of having, under the influence of every noble sentiment, unloosed the manacles of many a fellow creature, and let him, by the hand to recovery and social happiness.

(a) "Are not we [the present slaveholders] equally guilty?" This is one doctrine of modern abolitionists. Those who receive the negro as a present from Africa, and those from whom the present masters procured them, were *murderers*. No one disputes it. "Are not we equally guilty?" God and Scripture both answer. He who receives stolen goods knowingly, is a partaker in the guilt of the thief. He who buys a man, he who claims property in a fellow being, is a usurper of the prerogative of God, and incurs the responsibility of the sin. Consequences continue the same in the case of the present slaveholder. He who receives his property from his father, or from the laws of his country, is not responsible for the sin of the original violation of right. But he who refuses to relinquish his unjust claim, when he knows that he has no right to hold his fellow man in bondage, is guilty of the sin of robbery. He who refuses to do justly, and to love mercy, is guilty of the sin of oppression. He who refuses to do to others as he would that they should do to him, is guilty of the sin of violating the law of God. He who refuses to let the oppressed go free, is guilty of the sin of keeping men in bondage. He who refuses to do all this immediately, is guilty of the sin of refusing to do it at all times and under all circumstances. He who refuses to do it at all times and under all circumstances, is guilty of the sin of refusing to do it at any time. He who refuses to do it at any time, is guilty of the sin of refusing to do it at all. He who refuses to do it at all, is guilty of the sin of refusing to do it at all. He who refuses to do it at all, is guilty of the sin of refusing to do it at all. He who refuses to do it at all

sustain them in taking the accomplishment of their unlawful wishes into their own hands.—They have been advised that their *grievance* was one which the *Law* could not redress—that in fact the Institution was founded upon the principles of our Constitution and the Law, and the Legislature and the Court could afford them no aid, and they must redress themselves by the violent hand, "keeping always within the limits of public sentiment."

In behalf of the Trustees.

JOHN H. HARRIS, Sec. pro. tem.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Extract from the Journal of Geo. Storrs.

August 20. Visited Portsmouth and left a quantity of anti-slavery periodicals for distribution, with a pledge from the friends that it should be faithfully done.

Lectured in the evening at Durham to a small but quiet congregation; was followed with interesting remarks by Br. Root, the Congregational minister of Dover, who is a whole hearted abolitionist:—spent the night at Esq. Richardson's, who is firm in the cause of immediate emancipation, and has a thorough *help mate*.

21st. Went to Great Falls;—had an interview with some of the friends of the cause in that place;—find abolitionists here firm in the good cause though their enemies *threaten*. I hope God will help us to keep calm amidst the war of elements that now rages; and bear patiently all the *reproach* and *abuse* that *foolish* and *ignorant* men are striving to heap upon us by their calumnies.

24th. Lectured last evening at Great Falls to a crowded assembly in the Methodist meeting house. The congregation were remarkably quiet and attentive, manifesting no uneasiness, although my lecture was unusually long. The mobocracy party *threatened* great things if we attempted to lecture in that place; it is said they sent out of town to get help to take the Lecturer out of the pulpit by slave holders law (brute force) if he dared to exercise an *unalienable* and *constitutional right*, here in the north, where "we are all opposed to slavery!" in the ABSTRACT. God will cause the *wrath* of man to praise him; and the remainder of wrath he will restrain. Why do the heathen rage, and the *people* imagine a *vain* thing? When men have nothing but threats, clubs and mob law to use, it shows they are destitute of *arguments*, and that their cause is a bad one: discerning men begin to see it is so. The very means that have been resorted to, to put us down, have been over-ruled, by the good Being, to further the cause they have attempted to hinder. At the close of the meeting last evening, seventy-two gave their names to become members of the Great Falls Anti-Slavery Society. This society paid me $10, for the Am. Anti-Slavery Society.

The mobocracy in Dover, I am told, last Wednesday, *breathed out their threatenings* that if there were any more lectures on slavery in that place, they would take the lecturer by *force* (slave holding law) out of the pulpit. There happened to be a lecture that evening, in Rev. Mr. Root's meeting house, *preparatory* to the sacrament in that church. The mob party dreamed, thought they heard, that it was to be a lecture on slavery, and quite a number of them gathered *about* the house during the evening. It is said, that one man under pay, commissioned by U. S. Government, gave intimations that he would head a mob to prevent a lecture on slavery.

This afternoon I met the Anti-Slavery Society of Dover;—had an interesting time;—gave them a short lecture, *unmolested* notwithstanding the many threats of last week. Mr. Root followed me in some appropriate remarks. Much interest was manifested, which was shown by subscribing about *seventy* dollars to the Am. Anti-Slavery Society, and voting to take one hundred copies of Human Rights:—they had previously subscribed for 100 copies of the Emancipator. Two men at this meeting, not known as abolitionists before, came forward and subscribed $5,00 each, to the societies funds. The Anti-Slavery Societies of Dover are going forward strong, in nothing *terrified* by the *threats* of their enemies. May the Lord prosper them.

29th. Went to Bristol, 30 miles from Concord. Was cordially received by Col. O. F. Sawyer, who is a warm friend of the cause of abolition:—had an interview with Br. Matthew Newhall, the Methodist preacher; a decided and thorough going abolitionist.

30th. Preached in the afternoon, and lectured at five o'clock on slavery to a large congregation for that place. Most of the people here have been opposed to what they *supposed* was abolition; and why should they not be? Professing men have dressed abolitionism in *wolves clothing*, and have cried *loud* and *long*, "fanatic" "incendiary"—"insurrectionary;"—and demagogues have echoed the cry, like peals of thunder, all over the land. There has been the *whirlwind*, the *earthquake*, and the *fire*; but at all, the *small voice* of abolitionists could hardly be heard. Every thing has been said against them, except the truth; and if *one quarter* that has been proclaimed against us were true, it might be said with some propriety, possibly, *they are not fit to live*." It is not the first time, however, that all manner of evil has been spoken falsely, about a people that were labouring for *moral* reform. The good people at Bristol gave manifest evidence, by *serious* and *fixed* attention, that they were desirous of hearing one of his fraternity, "every where spoken against," speak for himself; and sure I am, that some of them felt, that we had been shamefully misrepresented. Said one of them, at the close of the evening, "Such abolitionism as you have preached, can never do any harm." I wish we preached no other. How will this whole land be astonished, when they get calm enough to *read* and *hear* the sentiments of abolitionists, to find, that men, whose only object has been to do good to their fellow men, have been thus reviled, abused, and misrepresented. I hope, that those of us, engaged in this glorious enterprise, will *not* get "weary in well doing, for in due time we shall reap if we faint not."

Sept. 1. Lectured again last evening at Bristol. Took up a variety of *objections* to immediate emancipation. The congregation gave good heed to what was said, and I trust many were satisfied that their fears of disunion, amalgamation &c. &c. are groundless fears. The friends resolved at the close of the lecture to form an Anti-Slavery Society, and chose a committee to draft a constitution, to be presented this evening for adoption.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Slander by the Wholesale.

MR. KIMBALL:—It would seem, that the Anti-Abolitionists thought they were doing God service, to *slander* abolitionists, and the *more* the *better*. I have been surprised at the wholesale slander that has been poured forth from newspapers for some weeks past; but by none more than a communication in the last N. H. Patriot, from Dr. William Prescott of Lynn, Mass. formerly of Gilmanton in this State. Having been *intimately* acquainted with Dr. Prescott, and knowing that he possessed a naturally *mild* disposition, I was not altogether prepared to look for such a tirade of false accusations as appear in his communication to Col. Barton. He talks of the Herald of Freedom being "*thrust* upon" him! Is this true? The first number sent him was accompanied with a request that if he did not choose to become a subscriber, he would return it. This request was repeated in the third number; and yet Dr. Prescott received the Herald six months without returning it; and once in that time had a private interview with one of the publishers, without expressing a wish to have the paper discontinued.

But let us look at Dr. Prescott's article which the Editor of N. H. Patriot has published. The following is a list of the charges which the Dr. prefers against the Herald of Freedom:—"It is directly TREASONABLE in its effects—*trampling* under *foot* the CONSTITUTION [!!!]—*endeavoring* to excite a REBELLIOUS *spirit* among the SLAVES [!!!]—it is calculated to excite and put in exercise the worst passions of the human heart—[this last sentence may be true, for truth generally, has this effect on the *guilty*]—*to promote* REBELLION [!!!] *scurrilous* and *rancorous* in its character; *treasonable* and *rebellious*" &c. Now to these high charges the Herald of Freedom may plead NOT GUILTY. I call up—"Wm. Prescott" to prove these charges out of the mouth of the Herald, by giving chapter and verse; or in other words, quoting the *language* of that paper that goes to support such charges; and if he cannot do it, let *him* bear the character of dealing in *slander by the wholesale*; and let him look at the ninth commandment, and see if, as a *christian*, he can stand before his Judge.

The remainder of the Drs. article I forbear to remark upon, as it is little more than a reproach of an individual, who though not named, is set up as engaged in a "*mad career*," and the "*enlightened, virtuous* and *patriotic* citizens" of the Drs. "native State" are invited to give him "merited rebuke." i. e. We suppose; mobs, go at him!—deal out as much *slander by the wholesale*, as you possibly can manufacture upon him!!

THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR.

Granite State, Aug. 25, 1835.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Rev. JOSEPH TRACY. No one, who is a Christian, can envy this gentleman the position he maintains in his unjust and ungenerous insinuations against Abolitiontsts, and particularly his constant and untiring misrepresentations of Mr. Garrison. Ever since he uttered the horrid calumny in the Vermont Chronicle, falsely charging this gentleman with asserting, and all anti-slavery men whose views coincided with his, with holding, "*that* GENERAL WASHINGTON WAS A HYPOCRITE, A THIEF, A MAN-STEALER, GUILTY OF PERJURY, AND NOW IN HELL," down to the very last Recorder, he has been either assailing the principles of abolitionists by misrepresenting them, or endeavoring to throw odium on the character of Mr. Garrison.

In endeavoring, in the Recorder of the 14th inst. to connect the circulation of "Human Rights," an Anti-Slavery paper, with the attack of a negro slave on the life of Mrs. Thornton of Washington city, he thus takes occasion to prepare Southern desperadoes to exercise Lynch law on Mr. G., for who does not see the obvious tendency of such language put forth by a Christian editor at such a time of excitement as this?

"*It is certain*," says Mr. Tracy, "that free persons of color in Washington city take the Liberator, and read it to Slaves. Whether Mrs. Thornton's slave had ever heard it read, we have no evidence. If he had, he might have been taught by it, that every slave-holder is a man-stealer, and every man-stealer deserves to be put to death; and may have inferred from it, that it could be no great crime to execute that justice upon his mistress which was not likely to be executed by any one else."

If Mr. Garrison should ever suffer violence from mobs or desperadoes, we will not say how large a share of the guilt of such violence will be laid at the door of Mr. Tracy, but we will say that nothing on earth would persuade us to incur that share of it which would rest upon his head. We will also say to this *Rev.* Editor in his own language which follows the above extract—"We put it to your own conscience, whether such publications [about your neighbor] ought to be circulated. Tell us not in this connexion, of the duty of publishing truth, and leaving the event with God. Doctrines which encourage insurrection [assassination] or any other sin, are false doctrines, and ought not to be published." We will also add 'Physician heal thyself.' M.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

MR. EDITOR,—Through your paper I wish to say one word in respect to a "certain report."—A brother wrote me saying—"It is currently reported that you advocate intermarriage between whites and blacks." Now, sir, this is *false*—UTTERLY FALSE. I have never advocated intermarriage. No being can name the time, place, or sentence in which I did it. I would no more advocate or advise amalgamation than the one who *slanderously* started the report. I conceive that the surest way to prevent—I should say *stop* amalgamation, is to abolish slavery immediately and totally. Do this, and certainly the illegal multiplication of the "*yellow*" will cease. Those who advocate slavery—apologize for it—or, in other words, oppose our cause, are the only advocates for amalgamation that I know of. And some practice accordingly as thousands of faces at the South plainly show.

Yours, &c.

DAVID STOWELL.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

MR. EDITOR,—My brother of the Observer, commenting upon a certain article inserted in his paper of the 11th inst. says, "D. S. asks, 'Is the Colonization Society becoming more established!'" And what is his reply? "*There is not a doubt of it.*" Sir, multitudes do doubt it notwithstanding the strong unqualified *assertion* of my brother. We wish for evidence. He gives us none. But he tells me "If I had *access* to all the sources of information I should be sensible of the fact." Why not make those sources of information *accessible*? How much is the admittance fee? Again, he says, "Colonizationists *at the North* are Abolitionists in faith and practice." Inference. They are not so *at the South*. Will the Editor of the Observer read Matthew xii, 25, and see what is said about a kingdom which is divided against itself? Will it stand? But after all I do not know but there is truth in the assertion. Colonizationists are Abolitionists (not Anti-Slavery) in faith and practice. They would abolish—what? Not Slavery. Their constitution forbids it.—But judging of their faith by their works, we should think they would, if possible, *abolish* all Anti-Slavery Societies—*abolish* all schools and seminaries for the blacks (Canterbury, Conn. Canaan, N. H. present facts.) They would abolish all the efforts of Anti Slavery societies to relieve and elevate the oppressed. I hope, sir, they will not proceed so far as either to abolish or colonize our Post Offices. Let Colonizationists come out and preach the duty of *immediate*, unconditional emancipation,—then it may do for them to talk about their being Abolitionists. Not before.

Yours, &c. DELTA SIGMA.

"Mast Road," 31 Aug.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Treason.

MR. KIMBALL,—Much has been said by our opponents about the "inflammatory," "incendiary," "treasonable" and "insurrectionary" character of the Anti-Slavery papers and pamphlets lately sent to the South from New-York. As it may be presumed that the Anti-Abolition papers have given some extracts from the publications thus denounced, I will thank you either to publish those of the most "incendiary" and "insurrectionary" character in the Herald or to refer me to those papers containing them In so doing you will oblige

A FRIEND AND SUBSCRIBER.

We would say to our correspondent, that the Anti-Abolition papers have condescended to give but very few extracts from the publications denounced as incendiary and treasonable.—Their accusations are vague and not to be supported by extracts from the writings of the accused. The two following articles, however, have been quoted, and we give them with the accompanying remarks.

[From the Buffalo Whig.]

"*A generous public*"!!—In the name of our country, we ask if this is the way we are to be trifled with by those whose every movement is calculated to sever the life-thread of our national compact? Who these "committee of publication" are, we know not, personally; nor do we care to know. "A candid perusal." forsooth, is asked. Well: take, reader, the following extracts from one of these swift messengers of iniquity:

"Hence we maintain—that in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law.

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity.

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We farther believe and affirm—That all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves,

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and,

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery."

Such, reader, is some of the RANK TREASON that these demons in human shape, are scattering over the South. It is part of the "declaration of sentiments"—it should be called the Bandit's compact—sent forth by these public disturbers; and they cap the climax of their devilment by averring, in the close of the paper, that their "trust for victory is solely in God"!!

In addition to the above 'rank treason,' we have the following, which seems to have produced a wonderful effect on the nerves of the correspondent of the Gazette.

[From the Boston Commercial Gazette.]

MESSRS EDITORS—The following is an extract from the abolition paper called "*Human Rights.*" If it does not place the brand of *falsehood* on the foreheads of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Association, who recently put forth their *circular*, I know not what will. I am glad that you have lately published the names composing the government of the society; it is full time the public should know who these people are, that are now busy in stirring up the spirits of discord, rapine and devastation, and spreading their baleful influence over this peaceful land. On their heads then be the blood already spilt, the crimes already committed! The poisoned arrows sped by them have had the effect designed—murder has stalked abroad; every breeze is freighted with its horrors! Let these misguided men pause ere it be too late. If there be any sober sense remaining, any humane and christian spirits left among them, let them pause in their mad career; let them call together their Society and abolish it instanter. The potent voice of the People has been heard in tones of thunder (not to be slighted off) from Faneuil Hall; let it not pass unheeded. It, however, disregarding its warning and solemn voice, this Society persevere in their nefarious schemes, let the bolt of public indignation fall upon them; let them be marked as disturbers of the public peace, and shunned as traitors to the country. Let no citizen who sets a value on the Union of these States—let none who hold to those sacred principles bequeathed to them by the immortal Washington, have any intercourse with men whose measures are firebrands, arrows and death, and whose success would be the destruction of this now happy republic.

[From Human Rights.]

The Slave's Friend.

This is a picture book, neatly done up in covers, and will be published regularly the fourth week in every month. Hereafter it will be printed in 16 pages instead 12 as heretofore, and will be sold as before at the very low price of one cent a single copy, 10 cents a dozen, 80 cents a hundred, and 6,50 a thousand. Large editions will be published, and it is hoped that abolitionists will *scatter them far and wide*. In the great *moral* battle now waging on the subject of slavery, this little work may be considered as POCKET PISTOLS. Let each abolitionist be always *cocked and primed with them*. It has been well said,—"children are all abolitionists." Be it so—we can reach parents then through their children.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Dover Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society.

[The preamble we omit for want of room.]

CONSTITUTION.

Art. I. This Society shall be called the *Dover Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society* confederate with the N. H. Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. II. The objects of this society are to secure the immediate and entire emancipation of that unfortunate portion of our fellow men who are groaning in unmitigated thraldom,—and to wrest the free people of colour from the influence of an unrighteous prejudice to which they have been so long doomed—and the elevation of both from that brutal, heathenish condition in which they now are, to enjoyment of those privileges which are the inalienable birthright of every human being, viz: the enjoyment of equal intellectual, civil and religious privileges. And this society will effect these objects only by such means as are consonant with the genius and spirit of christianity—and best calculated to remove the opposing obstacles, giving no countenance whatever to mobocracy or insurrectionary movements of any kind.

Art. III. The principle upon which this society is based, is, that Slavery is a sin of the first magnitude and atrocity against God—and ought therefore to be immediately and forever relinquished.

Art. IV. Any person assenting to the afore-mentioned principles, may become a member of this society by affixing his *signature* to this constitution.

[The other articles which relate to the government of the society we omit.]

Officers of this society—WM. BURR President, JEREMIAH H. BANKS and JAMES ASHTON V. Presidents, ALBERT G. FENNER Cor. Sec. E. D. CHAFFIN Recording Sec.

Slavery—Discussion.

We copy the following from Gurley's "Life of Ashmun." We are happy to see such a sentiment from his pen, but know not how to reconcile it with his deprecation and denunciation of discussion, when on his visit to this town. What will some of his good friends here say to it?

That slavery cannot long continue in this country, I firmly believe. Its perpetuity is irreconcilable with the nature of our institutions, the spirit of the age, and the order of Providence. It stands in the temple of freedom, like the image of death at the Egyptian festivities, to sadden our thoughts, cloud the light, and tune to melancholy, the instruments of joy.

The question how it shall be abolished, will soon be felt as the greatest and most interesting question that ever agitated the mind of this nation. On this question, public opinion is every thing. In portions of our country, this deep and mighty element is already sensibly moved on the subject and daily accumulating power. IT IS TOO LATE TO SAY THE MATTER SHALL NOT BE DISCUSSED; it were easier to stay the planets than prevent it. Nor ought it to be prevented.

Excerpts from Southern Sentiments.

The people of the Southern States will never deign to discuss either with the incendiaries, the non-slaveholding States, or any other foreign power, the validity of their title to their slaves. To debate a question—presupposes the doubt of its truth; and we shall never—no, never at any time, or under any circumstances admit, that on this subject there exist even the shade of a shadow of a doubt. When asked by what right we retain this class of our population in bondage, we shall, like the chivalry of Scotland, on a similar occasion, point to our swords. We shall scorn to render any other reply. Three millions of freemen with arms in their hands, may perish amidst the smouldering and bloody ruins of their habitations, and the devastation of the land by fire and sword, but they never will tamely and voluntarily surrender 500 millions of their wealth—they never will assent in an instant, and as if by magic, to reduce themselves, their wives and their children, from comfort and affluence, to bankruptcy, beggary and wretchedness!!—*Preamble to the Second meeting at Norfolk, Va. Aug.* 17.

Thus you see, gentlemen, that this question is a vital question, that it strikes at all the charities of life, and lays the axe at the very root of social, and Christian intercourse and confidence. And it must be so; for the SOUTH WILL NEVER YIELD TO THE NORTH THE PRIVILEGE OF EVEN DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT. It is inhibited.—*Cor. N. Y. Obs. dated Richmond, Aug.* 20, 1835.

On this paragraph the Editors of the Observer say, "the North claims the right to discuss the subject of slavery, or any other subject, without asking leave of any body. On the question of the *liberty of the press* the North is as sensitive as the South can be on any other."

A late number of the Richmond Whig, in the course of some remarks upon the *alleged* interference of the North with the Slave interests of the South, says, 'The people of the North must go on, [wretches, if they would not lose the benefit of the Southern trade;—and they *will* do it. They know too well, which side their bread is buttered on, ever to give up these advantages. Depend upon it—the Northern people will never sacrifice their present lucrative trade with the south, *so long as the hanging of a few* THOUSANDS *will prevent it!!!*

COMMUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.—The congregational church in Hudson, Ohio, and also that connected with the Western Reserve College, have resolved as we learn from the Ohio Observer, not to admit slaveholders to their communion.

FIRST OF AUGUST IN BERMUDA.—We have favorable accounts from the West Indies. The First of August, which it will be remembered, is the first anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, was celebrated at Bermuda by the colored people, under the sanction and by the aid of those who had been their masters. A procession was formed, which, with banners and mottoes, proceeded to a church, where an appropriate sermon was delivered.

The negro meeting house in Hartford, Conn. has been destroyed by fire; supposed to be the work an incendiary.

PROCEEDINGS AT RICHMOND.—The committee of vigilance at a meeting at Richmond on the 12th inst., passed a resolution recommending to the merchants, mechanics, and traders, of the City of Richmond and County of Henrico, to meet together and determine, neither directly or indirectly, to trade or hold communication with those Abolitionists of the North. It was also resolved, that the clergy be requested to discontinue the assembling and preaching to the black population in separate bodies from the white, and that they adopt all proper measures for discountenancing the conduct of Northern Abolitionists.—*Boston Mer. Jour.*

REMITTANCES.

F. Wakefield, T. Thorndike, E. Worth, C. Storrs, A. Allen, W. Peck, M. A. Webster, G. Fitch, S. Blanchard, S. Kelley, W. Nelson, S. Moody, S. Morse, J. Pulsifer jr., B. Stowe, M. Chamberlain, A. Sawyer, G. Cooley, D. K. Banister, J. B. Brewer, J. A. Ray, M. A. Pilsbury, E. J. Scott, E. Scott, S. Hoit, C. Fales, J. C. Cromack, W. Beckley, S. P. Williams, A. Chase, D. Newton, E. Presby, F. T. Daily, C. L. M'Cardy, J. A. Merrill, O. Scott, E. Scott, G. Seaver, T. Seaver, S. G. Scott, W. Seaver, I. Hovey, D. Field, G. Beckley, E. H. Ladd, D. I. Robinson, B. Noyes, W. D. Cass, J. F. Adams, J. Merrill, — Otis, M. R. Woodbury, E. Wells, J. L. Smith, T. B. Moses, J. Guppy, M. Quimby, J. Nayson, S. Sias, D. Hobbs, J. Leach, W. Lewis, M. March, R. P. Center, J. Blackmer, W. P. White, T. Morse, A Baker, A. Odlum, $1 each.

L. Jackson, J. C. Baker, T. K. Gage, 25 cts. each.—C. Harlshorn, G. W. Ward, J. G. Smith, R. H. Spalding, S. A. Chase, 50 cts. each.—A. T. Bullard, G. B. Huston, 10 cts. each.—C. Hoag, S. L. Pomroy, $2 each.—B. Chase $5.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC for the year 1836. Price $1 per hundred—6 1-4 cts. single.

For sale at the Herald of Freedom Office.

POETRY.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

"Am I not a Man and a Brother?"

With God's image, erect on his footstool I stand,
Clothed with strength is my arm, nerved with vigor my hand;
Through my veins, conscious blood from my heart warmly flows,
Awakening sensations the brute never knows;
But which makes of one kindred the nations of earth,
The slave to his master, a brother by birth.

I've a soul, and though wrapt in an Æthiop shade,
And deep in a chaos of ignorance laid;
Yet it burns in its cell with a flame that's so bright,
I have sometimes a glimpse of its radient light;
But alas! though it sparkles and shines in my breast,
The eye of my mind still on darkness must rest.

I've a heart that's possessed of a power to feel,
When the heart of the white man is pointed with steel;
I have eyes that have wept all my life's gloomy years,
And nightly have watered my couch with their tears;
I have ears that oft tingle those voices to hear,
Which ne'er speak of kindness my misery to cheer.

I've a monitor, too, that is restless within,
Which tells me my heart is a mansion of sin;
And O! dwells not the same in the slave-holder's breast,
Tho' forbidden its voice to disquiet his rest?
Ah! the same condemnation descends on us all,
We are brethren involved in the guilt of the fall.

A kindred alliance with white men I claim,
Though degraded my mind 'tis in essence the same;
Though rudely is crushed in its temple my soul,
By oppressions which all its uprisings control;
Yet it ne'er will descend to commingle with dust,
But return to its maker, that God who is just.

I'm a MAN, and a BROTHER—the day is at hand,
When all colors in one congregation will stand,
And O! who will discern mid eternity's light,
A dark African hue from American white?
There'll no shade in that shadowless air intervene,
But the soul all unclothed for inspection be seen.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

"Awake thou that sleepest."

Patriots, arouse, see thy country demands thee;
A part of her sons are in slavery's chains;
Her honor is sullied, her glory departing,
stains.

Philanthropists, listen, that cry will arouse thee,
Thou art not yet deaf to humanity's call:
No! lift up thy heads thou poor enslav'd Afric',
We hear, and the system of slavery shall fall.

Christians, awaken, the gospel commands thee
To seek the oppressed, and to let them go free,
See the slaves, in our country, whose minds are degraded
To a level with brutes, by a sinful decree.

Shall we slumber, when thus such an outrage is offered
To the image of God to the blood of his Son?
We dare not—his wrath is thick blackening around us—
We will wake, or his vengeance we soon shall have won.

G.

MISCELLANY.

To the Public.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, duly held in Boston, on Monday, August, 17th, A. D. 1835,

Voted:—That the following address to the public, be subscribed by the undersigned Committee, and published in the newspapers.

Attest, SAMUEL J. MAY, Sec'y.

ADDRESS

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and others concurring generally in its principles, feel it to be a duty to themselves and the community, to make the following publication and disavowal. We offer this statement, at the present time, because the attempt is now made, to fix upon Abolitionists sentiments and intentions which they abhor;—because the suppression of our opinions by open force is recommended, and has been in numerous cases already commenced;—and because we are confident the public would think more favorably of our opinions and purposes, if they were better understood.

We are charged with violating, or wishing to violate, the Constitution of the United States. What have we done, what have we said, to warrant this charge? We have held public meetings, and taken other usual means of convincing our countrymen that slaveholding is sin, and, like all sin, ought to be, and can be immediately abandoned. We have said in the words of the Declaration of Independence, that "ALL MEN are created equal," and that liberty is an unlienable gift of God to every man.—We know of no clause in the Constitution which forbids our saying this. We appeal to the calm judgment of the community, to decide, in view of recent events, whether the measures of the friends, or those of the opposers of abolition, are more justly chargeable with the violation of the Constitution and laws. Have we opposed the freedom of speech? Have we attempted to prevent discussion and disperse orderly meetings by force? Have we incited mobs, burnt effigies, torn down dwellings, despoiled churches, and put men to death without trial?

It is said that the Constitution of the United States forbids our acting, in any way, on this subject. We reply, that there are but three allusions to slavery in that instrument. One clause provides for a slave representation in Congress;—a second forbids Congress to prohibit the African Slave Trade, till the year 1808;—and the third enacts that 'persons held to service or labor' in one state, escaping into another, shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. Can our opposers think that these sections contain any prohibition of *speaking* or *writing* on the subject of slavery?

To the union of these states we feel a deep attachment. No price can be paid too great for its preservation, but the sacrifice of honor and principle. It is because we love our whole country, that we think it full time to discuss at least, the remedy for an evil which has been at the root of most of our national difficulties, and which is daily gathering a fearful importance to our honor, our liberty, our existence as a nation, that will permit no patriot to be silent.

It is intimated that we are guilty of circulating incendiary publications among the southern slaves. We utterly and indignantly deny this calumny, and call for the proof! We have no design and no means to address the slaves. Nothing can be further from our wishes, than to excite the slave population. We should consider any action of this kind as far worse than useless—as highly dangerous, and as little less criminal than murder. Why should we seek to promote insurrection? What should we not lose by it? As merchants and mechanics, as citizens and parents, as patriots and christians, we have as much to risk as others in the community;—and we know that such an event would be the greatest calamity to the slaves, and to the cause of freedom. No Anti-Slavery Society,—and no person connected with any Anti-Slavery Society, is believed to have ever circulated among the slaves, any publication whatever,—as is so often *hinted*, but *never yet, we believe, distinctly charged*, by the opposers of our cause. We solemnly pledge ourselves, that if it can be shown, that any person, connected with our cause, has ever circulated inflamatory tracts among the slaves, or with a view to be read by them,—we will publicly renounce him as a foe to the peace of society, and to the best interests of the oppressed.

We refer our fellow citizens to any and all of our publications, peremptorily denying that there can be found in them a sentence from which could be inferred other counsel to the slave than this, 'to suffer injury long and still be kind,'—'not to avenge themselves, but give place unto wrath.'

The attempt is made to delude the community into to the belief, that Abolitionists are willing to secure the emancipation of the slaves, at the expense of the safety of the whites. We deny this charge in the most pointed manner. We have never advocated the right of physical resistance, on the part of the oppressed. We assure our [illegible] life of a single slaveholder, to emancipate every slave in the U. States. On the contrary, we are fully persuaded that the triumph of our principles is the only means of tranquility or safety, for our country.

The foolish tale that we would encourage amalgamation by intermarriage, between the whites and blacks, though often refuted, as often reappears. We shall content ourselves with a simple denial of this charge. We challenge our opponents to point to one of our publications in which such intermarriages are recommended.—One of our objects is to *prevent* the amalgation now going on, so far as can be done, by placing one million of the females of this country under the protection of law.

We are accused of *interfering* in the domestic concerns of the Southern States.—We would ask those, who charge this, to explain precisely what they mean by 'interference.' If, by interference, be meant any attempt to legislate for the Southern States, or to compel them, by force or intimidation, to emancipate their slaves, we at once deny any such pretension. We are utterly opposed to any force on the subject, but that of conscience and reason, which are 'mighty through God, in the pulling down of strong holds;'—We fully acknowledge, that no change in the slave laws of the Southern States can be made, unless by the Southern Legislatures. Neither Congress, nor the Legislatures of the free States, have authority to change the condition of a single slave in the Slave States.—But, if by 'interference' be intended the exercise of the right of freely discussing this subject, and, by speech and through the press, creating a public sentiment, which will reach the conscience, and blend with the convictions of the slaveholder, and *thus* ultimately work the complete extinction of Slavery,—this is a species of interference which we can never consent to relinquish. We add (what we have uniformly said) that on the subject of our relations with the Southern States, we fully concur in the sentiments of our fellow citizen, Daniel Webster, in his published letter to Mr. Bolton. We desire at the same time, distinctly to avow our convictions, as according with those of many of the most eminent statesmen in the country, in regard to the constitutionality and expediency of immediate legislative action, in the abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, in the district of Columbia, where, in the words of the Constitution, Congress has power 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever.'

But, whatever may be thought of the tendency of our principles, we claim, as our Constitutional right, the privilege to discuss and promulgate them. The Constitution of the United States *prohibits* Congress from making any law 'to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press.' The Constitution of Massachusetts expressly guarantees the 'right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good, and asserts,—*not* that sound opinions only shall be tolerated, but that 'the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS *is essential to the security of* FREEDOM *in a state*;' it ought not therefore, to be restrained, in this Commonwealth.'

We respectfully ask our fellow citizens, whether we are to be deprived of these sacred privileges; and, if so, whether the sacrifice of our rights will not involve consequences dangerous to all mental, and even personal freedom. We have violated,—we mean to violate, no law. We have acted, we shall continue to act, under the sanction of the Constitution of the United States. Nothing that we propose to do, can be prevented by our opposers, without violating the Charter of our rights. To the law and to the Constitution we appeal.

COMMITTEE.

Samuel J. May,	*Dexter Fairbank,*
Samuel E. Sewall,	*H. M. Chamberlain,*
Moses Thacher,	*Isaac Knapp,*
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	*Nathaniel Southard,*
Joseph Southwick,	*Charles C. Barry,*
Francis Jackson,	*John E. Fuller,*
Charles T. Hildreth,	*Joseph Tillson,*
William S. Porter,	*David Cambell,*
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Henry C. Wright,	*Nathaniel Billings,*
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Daniel Holbrook,	*George Jackson,*
Stephen Lovell,	*Perez Gill,*
David L. Child,	*Thomas R. Sewall.*
Gamaliel Bradford.	

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

[From the N. Y. Evening Post.]

Free Discussion.

We do not like the tone in which our southern brethren speak of matters connected with abolition. There is a great deal too much of the Ercles' vien in it. They are quite too much disposed to threaten; and should the north retaliate in the same braggart style, ill blood might be stirred between us. There is one thing, we, for a single journal, with all due amenity of temper, shall take leave to assure our fellow citizens south of Mason and Dixon's line, namely, that we shall not permit our right to discuss the question of slavery, or any other question under heaven, to be denied. Point us the section or clause in the articles of confederation or the obligation in any form or place, which prohibits us from expressing our free opinions on that subject, or any subject, and you may prevail upon us to be silent; but by threats of disunion you never can. This *ultima ratio* of dissolving the federal compact has got to be as familiar in the mouth of the southerners as household words. It is held up as a bugbear at every turn. Dissolve the union in welcome, if the only tie to hold it together must be wrought out of the sacred right of free discussion—if we must mix the cement with the very heart's blood of freedom.—Dissolve the Union! and pray what would the South gain by that? Would that put an end to discussion? Would that prevent men from speaking their thoughts on the subject of slavery? Would that put far off the evil day which the south is but hastening, with fearful rapidity, by the very method—the ill-judged, fatal method—which it takes to retard it?

[From the New-York American.]

The Slave Question.

The proceedings we publish, of a public meeting held in Richmond, Virginia, and the resolutions and preamble there adopted—taken in connection with the recent outrages committed at Charleston on the Post Office, and the compromise—unlawful beyond all doubt—which the Postmaster there is said to have made with the citizens of that place, not to forward by mail, any abolition publications, &c.—will not have a soothing tendency in the free States.

We believe there is no adequate cause for the alarm evinced at the South. We are sure there is none for the imputation of any desire, or purpose, on the part of the citizens of the free States, to interfere with the constitutional rights of the Southern States, to their slaves; but when, as both in the preamble and first resolution of the Richmond meeting, it is broadly asserted, that it is among the guarantees of that right, that Congress shall not abolish slavery "in any of the Territories, or Districts, where it now exists," we at once deny the proposition. We insist that there is no such guarantee—no such restriction upon the legislation of Congress in regard to Territories, or the District of Columbia—and that the assertion of it in the form and manner adopted at Richmond is both unfounded and offensive.

For ourselves, we are, have been, and shall continue to be, in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. We think it a stain that can be washed away, and should be washed away, from the capitol of Freedom! The jurisdiction of Congress over the District is entire and supreme. It is a wholly different case from that of a State. With the latter, Congress can in no wise interfere. But in a district, or a territory, they may Constitutionally interfere, whenever to them shall seem good. Right is one thing, expediency is another—and if the interference with slavery in the District of Columbia, had been objected to, on the latter ground, the question might in that shape have divided opinions, even in the North; but when we are told that right is against it, and are forbidden even to entertain the question, there can be no two opinions among us, as to the presumption of such language.

Upon the whole we feel bound to say, that the proceedings at the South on this exciting subject, are more likely to produce reaction here, not in favor of *abolition*—but in favor of *anti-slavery*—than if a calmer tone, and less sweeping claims of exemption from all discussion, had been put forth.

We certainly do not mean to be deterred from discussing the whole subject in all its bearings—with the utmost frankness—tho' without any violence—whenever it seems advantageous to do so.

[From the Lynn Record.]

Pro-Slavery Meeting in Boston.

The great panic pro-slavery meeting, which has required so much nullification labor, and been so long in the brewing, was held at Faneuil Hall, on Friday last. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Richard Fletcher, T. B. Curtis, Peleg Sprague, and H. G. Otis. A gentleman of candor and intelligence, of high standing in the community, who was present, and heard all that was spoken, represents all the speeches as being in the highest degree inflammatory, and destitute of sound argument, and says he was never so ashamed of his own country and his own government. The whole proceedings consisted in the most boistrous declamation, addressed to the passions of the multitude, who were called upon to crush the efforts of the fanatic incendiares, who, if not put down soon, would gain the ascendency, and obtain a majority in Congress! What a sentiment for a free people! *They would soon be a majority, if left to exercise the freedom of speech!*

We regret that Mr. Fletcher was *left* to tarnish his own character in this way, because he is considered by many, as an upright and virtuous man, and not so much wedded to aristocracy, as the others are known to be. But if this is a specimen of his candor and disposition, or of his christian temper and virtues, commend us to the Turks. Probably, however, some little allowance at least should be made in this case. The newspapers which Mr. F. is supposed to be in the habit of reading and believing, have been filled with direct and palpable falsehoods, on this subject. Probably he and his brother orators of the meeting, all together, never read half a dozen pages of abolition principles in their lives. They take hear-say evidence and news-paper falsehoods for truth. This is the case with most of those, who manifest so much horror for abolition principles. It is nothing strange or unexpected for the Boston aristocracy to come out violently in favor of slavery. They would enslave the *whites* if they could.

Mr. Kendall's Letter to the Post Master at Charleston.—In giving place to the above letter, we cannot refrain from accompanying it with an expression of our surprise and regret that Mr. Kendall, in an official communication, should have expressed such sentiments as this extraordinary letter contains. If, according to his ideas of the duties of patriotism, every postmaster may constitute himself a judge of the laws, and suspend their operation, whenever, in his supreme discretion, it shall seem proper, we trust Mr. Kendall *may be permitted to retire from a post* where such opinions have extensive influence, and enjoy his notion of patriotism in a *private station*. A pretty thing it is, to be sure, when the head officer of the Post Office establishment of the United States, and a member, *ex officio*, of the administration of the General Government, while he confessed in one breath that he has no legal power to prevent the carriage or delivery of any newspaper, whatever be the nature of its contents, declares in the very next, that by no act of his, will he aid, directly or indirectly, in circulating publications of an incendiary and inflammatory character. Who gives him a right to judge what is incendiary and inflamatory? Was there any reservation of that sort in his oath of office?—*N. Y. Evening Post an Administration paper.*

The Post Office.

An important letter from the Post Master General will be found in another column, and also an account of further proceedings at Charleston. We learn from the New York papers that the Postmaster of that city has assumed the responsibility of refusing, at present, to forward to the south, the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society.—The Postmaster at Charleston having written to him on the subject, he addressed a letter to the Post Master General, and another to the President of the Anti-Slavery Society, requesting in the letter that the transmission of the papers referred to should be suspended till the decision of the P. M. General should be known. The Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society refused to comply; and then Mr. Gouverneur resolved to detain the papers on his own responsibility.

The legal right of the Anti-Slavery Society to the use of the mail, and the illegality of the proceedings at Charleston, are too clear to require comment. Nor is the extraordinary position assumed by the Post Master General, the least alarming part of the business. "We owe—he says—an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live; and if the former be perverted to destroy the latter it is patriotism to disregard them."—What more could the most outrageous mob desire? It is the very principle of all the lawless and horrid outrages of which we have been hearing for the last few weeks till our ears have almost ceased to tingle. It throws every man back on his own judgment whether in this or that particular instance he ought to obey the laws or not.—For instance: certain persons in Mississippi thought they owed a higher obligation to the community than to the laws, and so set the law aside for the time, and established a tribunal over them. In one case this temporary tribunal awarded to a suspected person the punishment of whipping and banishment. The people aforesaid thought differently from their tools, and said they should be hanged—and he was hanged in obedience to the vote of a mob!

We cannot believe that the Postmaster holds this anarchial doctrine. The paragraph must have escaped him without due consideration.—*Vt. Chron.*

[From the Essex Gazette.]

The North and South.

For years the South has harped on the North, threatening at one hour to form an independent sovereignty—at another refusing obedience to well made Laws—at a third frightening us with a called for dissolution of the Union—now deluging our country with nullification and anon with new-fangled notions of State Power. We have been reviled and threatened till our Southern school-master has whipped the most of us into a school-boy submission—denying us even the right that every boy claims of his pedagogue of *whimpering* and *muttering* at pleasure. We have no disposition to go and do likewise. We believe and know that this spirit of vituperation and abuse merits and receives the disapprobation of every noble minded man at the South. To such we now appeal, claiming the right guaranteed to us in the Constitution of our country, that, "there shall be no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

[From the Greenfield Mercury.]

The Times.

Following close upon the heels of the enormous outrages, and sanctioned by the leading organs of both the great parties in this State, we have a proposition for meetings to be held in Massachusetts, for the purpose of expressing disapprobation of the designs of the abolitionists, and of assuring our Southern (*White*) brethren of our cordial sympathy in their sufferiugs, and of our hearty approval of whatever shall be the lynchings, whippings, and hangings may be necessary for the vindication of their authority over our *black* brethren.

The plan of these meetings deserves serious and careful reflection. It should be considered whether they are likely to have any effect in allaying the deep seated jealousy of northern statesmen and northern interference, which has grown into a passion at the south—whether the abolitionists, in their official acts have in fact unreasonably magnified the importance of the social evil against which they are arrayed, and whatever they have, as a body, employed or professed an intention of employing any other than constitutional remedies for this evil, and whether, finally, so long as they confine themselves within constitutional limits, every consideration of policy, of abstract right, and of sectional feeling, does not point out the expediency of sustaining instead of crushing them. Will the public be ready to second the extreme courtesy, the shocking delicacy, which will allow us to be as loud as the tempest on the question of high or low duties, the rights of neutrals, French indemnities, or Algerine piracies; but will have us as hush as the grave in respect to a nuisance which lies close by our own doors, which has been increasing for forty years, and which, unless arrested, will overthrow the nation?

The abolition cause has had a great deal to struggle with—the intemperate zeal of some of its friends, the unmeasured hate of its enemies, the difficulty of obtaining a hearing and awakening interest in any subject in which personal interests are not immediately involved. Yet we believe that no unprejudiced person can patiently examine its claims without becoming convinced that they are based in immutable truth, which will sooner or later, in spite of misrepresentation, make its way to the heart and conscience of the people of New England, and unite them as one man, in the vocacy of every *constitutional* restriction on the holding of human property.

The fastidious members of a religious congregation at Wheeling, a flourishing town in Virginia, and the seat of justice for a county, have lately debated whether their pastor should be discharged *in consequence of his having attended the funeral of a*—what gentle reader,—a Turk—Jew—Atheist—Deist—but a poor NEGRO. If this was fanaticism, it might be tolerated, because fanatics soon get tired of the resraints of prejudice; but it is worse; it is a specimen of the permanent illiberality which deforms the character and violates the state of society in the land of Washington and Adams.

Montreal paper.

WHAT OUR NEIGHBORS SAY OF US.—The Montreal Herald, in noticing the outrage at Vicksburg, speaks in this wise:—

"In yesterday's Herald we mentioned that the vaunted doctrine of republicanism might be correctly interpreted into "*Might is Right.*" Since that paragraph was written we have met with a *feeling* and melancholy illustration of its truth. We believe there can be but one opinion as to the morality of the gamblers, but in a country where the majesty of the law is disrespected rather, where there seems to be an absence of all law except the ungovernable passion of a ferocious mob, no man's property is safe, no man's life is life."

The Courier, also published at Montreal, says, the account of this shocking transaction "is in keeping with the licentious violence which has on several occasions disgraced the inhabitants of several towns in the United States of late." We grieve that such bitter taunts are but too well deserved.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

JAY'S INQUIRY into the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies, price
RANKIN'S LETTERS on Slavery,
BOURNE'S PICTURE of Slavery,
TESTIMONY OF GOD against Slavery by Rev. La Roy Sunderland,
DESPOTISM OF FREEDOM, by D. L. Child,
AN APPEAL on the subject of Slavery, addressed to the N. E. and N. H. Conferences of the Methodist E. Church,
BIRNEY on Colonization,
BIRNEY to the Churches,
Abrogation of the 7th Commandment,
Fast Day Sermon, by Rev. David Root,
TREE OF LIBERTY, [an engraving.]
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PROCEEDINGS of the N. E. Convention held May 1834.

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